1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

842 177 Taking a three foot long piece of a bear's small intestine, she tied it around her abdomen next to the skin. This belt was worn for ten days. Although married for three years, Old Man reported, Mary has not yet produced a child. More direct methods of contraception are limited. The condom (locally called "French safe" or "safe") is not used as a contraceptive, its employment being mainly confined to protecting boys against venereal disease. One woman, who is married to a white trapper and has six children, reported having unsuccessfully used chemical suppositories purchased by mail in order to avoid pregnancy. Another childless woman, who has been married to a white trapper for six years, was reported to have advised washing vulvae and vagina with hot water following intercourse in order to control conception. The number of children a woman brings into the world is not a prestige point in Kaska society nor is barrenness a disgrace. These attitudes may therefore be regarded as supporting the desire of some women to avoid pregnancy. A family with many children is sometimes re-
843 ferred to as "tell ducks," because this species reproduces prolifically. There is also a belief that if a family has no more than seven children, then all will live. To have more, however, increases the danger that many will die. "Maybe true," Old Man remarked. "Look at River Joe. I had nine; pretty near all I lose." Too many pregnancies are also regarded as quickly aging women.

842 Old Man reported that among the Upper Liard Indians, children are always spaced two years apart, leaving a year between pregnancies. No evidence could be obtained that such spacing is deliberate. Systematic contraception and prolonged sexual avoidance of a woman following childbirth were both explicitly denied. "I know myself," Old Man insisted. "My wife like that. I never sleep alone. Every other summer baby start." The significantly high rate of summer conception, already pointed out,[8] was further corroborated by Old Man. Out of six children born to him, four were probably conceived in the period of June and early July. An explanation for the phenomenon may lie in the fact that the generally increased social stimulation of summertime in Lower Post, together with the greater privacy of tent living, and the opportunities for couples to retire to the privacy of the bush in this season, may provide greater opportunity for coitus and increase sexual stimulation more than life in the crowded winter cabins. In other words, the relatively greater frequency of summer conception is to be explained by the interaction of climatic and social factors.[9]

153 *Motor habits.* In general the Indians are relaxed in everything they do, never awkward, and exhibit few postural signs of tension. Many motor habits in connection with the performance of cultural activities have been described in other portions of this report and only certain general motor patterns, such as sitting, walking, hand preference, and handshaking remain to be discussed at this point.

516 In sitting on the ground, a man rests on his heels with his legs drawn under the buttocks, his knees apart. Often, especially outdoors in warm weather, men squat on the flat of their feet, the knees drawn up below the chin close to the body. In front of a campfire or stove and in a tent men generally recline, resting on one elbow, the legs outstretched. All three of these postures are avoided by women. A woman typically sits on her heels with her legs

[8] See above, p. 37.

[9] Compare Montagu, *Climate and Reproduction* (1939).

154

154 ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES--evidence bearing upon the incidence, nature, and cultural patterning of unconscious mental processes (e.g., free association, dreaming, fantasy, visions, inspiration, intuition); modes of resolving situations involving conflict, frustration, and anxiety; observations and inferences concerning adjustment mechanisms (e.g., repression, regression, displacement, projection, introjection, identification); etc. See also:

Ingroup antagonisms 578
Sorcery 754
Dream interpretation and vision quest . . . 787
Rationalization 811

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

828 dead body. "Maybe because he scared he gonna die." It so happened that this man did die
152 within a short time. "He so scared, I think, that's why. Any you think about something danger when it's time to go to bed, you dream about it. Maybe that's why fellow scared he die."

Men do not generally cry out in pain; women, however, quickly exclaim, crying "Ajya!" until the stimulus is removed or reduced. Men commonly try to suppress any too demonstrable manifestation of excitement. A fresh moose track may produce a tensening of the hunter's body and a whispered remark, but little more. The sight of game promotes a swift, calculated move to a man's gun. In speaking about a hunt or kill, a male narrator's voice reveals little intense emotion but is quite level and matter-of-fact, only a young man smiling as he tells about his success. Women, however, never attempt to inhibit signs of excitement or elation stimulated by game or successful hunting. Any sign of animal life near camp is for them a signal for turbulent running and shouting which, as Old Man ruefully pointed out, quickly drives the game away. At Old Man's settlement, Anna Lang one day dropped a bundle of fresh brush which she was carrying and ran to the river bank. She called something to her sister, Louisa, who was alone in the house. Louisa dashed out of the cabin and called to the ethnographer's wife: "tate, Anna sees fox other side!" Anna ran into the ethnographer's dwelling urging the latter to hurry out with his rifle. Under Anna's urging, the ethnographer shot and missed the fox. Louisa excitedly repeated: "Shoot it, shoot it!" Running, Anna called Lady Suza who, coming with her rifle, also shot and missed. The fox finally ran into the brush. As Anna turned away she chanted: "I saw fox today!" Later, Lady Suza visited Anna and the two women, after discussing the event, began to exchange stories of animals that they had previously encountered and shot.

828 A frequent pattern of reacting to an embarrassing or otherwise pressing interpersonal
154 situation is by flight from the scene, women in particular being quick to flee when they feel discomfort in social relationships. In both sexes, embarrassment or heightened self-consciousness often finds expression in coughing. Two women returning to a dance from the toilet brush were observed to cough as they entered the house and took their places. When such a reaction occurs in an interpersonal situation involving two people, it seems to serve as an excuse for hesitating or not answering some embarrassing or inconvenient question. For example, our informant, Nitla, denied that people ever coughed when embarrassed or ashamed. We pointed out that he had coughed just previously, when the subject of anal reactions had been introduced. The informant explained that a throat tickle must have occurred simultaneously with the question and had promoted his coughing. He added that smoking (he had been smoking) also stimulates coughing. It would seem that such emotionally motivated coughing is an unconscious phenomenon.

828 *Conscious mentation.* Thinking is ascribed to the brain. Several reasoning processes are demonstrated by the Kaska, including analogy, empirical induction, and deduction. Analogy is used frequently in explaining animal behavior on the basis of human behavior, while examples from other aspects of nature are sometimes also used to illustrate or explain human processes.

000 Induction is here defined as mentation leading to empirical knowledge or belief which,

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
ND12 Nahane ND12

754 177 graphic work with the Tahltan and other Pacific-drainage Athapaskan groups.

In view of the statements that the practice of witch hunting was absent in aboriginal Kaska society it may be expected that this attitude appeared in the area between 1820 and 1900. A survey of the historical background has already revealed two great movements of white people up the Stikine waterway, one starting in 1872 and another in 1897. The reports of Dawson, who was in the country about 1887, make a passing reference to witchcraft among the Tahltan. Therefore it seems reasonable from all available evidence, including informants' data, to ascribe the introduction of witch-fear in Kaska territory to the closing years of the nineteenth century.

At this period other occurrences probably had an influence in conditioning the acceptance of such beliefs. Kaska culture was undergoing a period of drastic change. The adaption of the Indians was being severely tested by the influx of people who by their numbers were probably dispersing the game on which the Indians depended in large measure for survival. Never comfortable with strangers, the people were now being exposed to all manner of contacts, some of which were certainly not courteous and considerate.[37] In addition must be considered the Indians' exposure to introduced illnesses, which were taking a heavy toll of life. Even today the people blame the white man for the origin of tuberculosis and colds. The study of the influence of these historical changes on the adoption of beliefs in witchcraft is part of the psychological problem to which attention will now be directed.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA. II, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL

154 182 A study of the psychological functions of Kaska witch-fear must answer several related questions. In the first place why, if as is known, the Kaska as well as the Tahltan had a knowledge of and contact with the Tlingit going back to aboriginal times, was the belief in witchcraft not accepted long before? Here again historical factors must be examined before any psychological explanation need be attempted. The superimposition of witchcraft belief on patterns of shamanism among the Tlingit suggests that those people had themselves only developed attitudes of witchcraft relatively recently. Furthermore *intense* contact with Tlingit society probably did not occur for the Kaska until the close of the nineteenth century when interaction with the Tahltan probably also occurred on a friendly rather than, as had previously been the rule, on a hostile basis. The question therefore becomes limited to the predisposing conditions which influenced the acceptance of a belief in witchcraft in relatively modern times. It may now be asked, what problems did a belief in witchcraft satisfy in Kaska society at the time of its acceptance and what were the functions of this belief?

[37] For a picture of the type of men who went on the Klondike trail see Dennis, 1898, p. 463; also Stratford, 1912.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
ND12 Nahane ND12

Without attempting to formulate a complete theory of witchcraft, it may be pointed out that a belief in the potential malevolence of other people, while not always socially disintegrating, always suggests a sense of insecurity governing interpersonal relations. Such a theory is primarily deductive and is derived from previous anthropological investigations of witchcraft, clinical psychology, and psychoanalysis.[28] Its validity for the present problem will depend entirely on its ability to explain the facts of Kaska witch-fear. The components of psychological insecurity derive from states of anxiety which can be divided into two types, first, primary anxiety that is a product of some early traumatic situations of childhood and is retained throughout life and, second, situational anxiety which is derived from contemporary situations that frustrate the individual's feeling of safety in his environment. The two types of anxiety are closely related and it seems likely that any considerable degree of primary anxiety will create a low threshold for situational anxiety. The accumulated total insecurity will in turn seek release through impulses of aggression or hostility of which witch-fear is a projection.[29]

In order to ascertain the nature of the anxieties likely to occur in Kaska individuals, reference must be made to Kaska personality as it was studied during the period of field work, 1944–45. The validity of this method may be briefly demonstrated. The basic outlines of personality, it is now generally agreed, are established in childhood, specifically in those social situations in which the child derives characteristic attitudes toward the world and himself from his relationship with adult members of the family and other members of his society. Since the patterns governing these primary situations change slowly (no evidence could be obtained of any major change in socialization patterns in the past few decades), it seems safe to assume that basically Kaska personality was not radically different twenty-five or even fifty years ago from what it is today.

From an analysis of Kaska culture it is possible to prove, first, the existence of personality factors which provide a considerable degree of readiness to react with situational anxiety and, second, to isolate certain historical conditions which, by arousing strong situational anxiety, were predisposing to the acceptance of witchcraft beliefs as defined above. To phrase the second point somewhat differently, observations of Kaska behavior enable the prediction that certain specific circumstances will almost certainly arouse anxiety in the Kaska Indian. Such circumstances include any situation requiring an assertive

[28] Although among the Navaho Kluckhohn believes the euphoric effects of witchcraft to outweigh the dysphoric, he sees a function of witchcraft to be "the objectification and alleviation of displaced anxieties arising from the general situation of the Navaho or from the special situation of a particular Navaho at a particular time." (Kluckhohn, 1944, pp. 40, 50.)

[29] It is impossible to document the sources for this theory which borrows freely from many writers. The interested reader will quickly recognize the influence of Horney, Levy, Dollard, Kardiner, Maslow, and others.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
ND12 Nahane ND12

154
155 approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

155 A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situa-
854 tions develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her
855 child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[36] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

754 At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival
182 imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been
154 mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new ill-
178 nesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

[157]

[36] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), few movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
ND12 Nahane ND12

managed. For an assertive and basically confident people these problems would perhaps not have been too catastrophic. Kaska resourcefulness, however, is limited to relatively familiar situations or those which do not require a prodigious expenditure of energy and too severe a disruption of normal routines. In novel critical situations the Indian reveals a tendency to passivity and procrastination. These behaviors, totally inadequate as defenses in the acculturation situation, simply aggravated adaptive crises when they were applied to hunting, illness, and trapping. The inevitable result was the arousal of secondary frustration and anxiety.

It was this anxiety, leading to interpersonal difficulties and hostility (which the Kaska are unable to express directly) which was the condition predisposing the society to a favorable reception of witch-fear. Sickness, always a conflict situation for a people dependent on mobility to survive, was the area in which the introduced pattern became readily integrated. Witch-fear solved the emotional problems of frustration and anxiety by offering a channel for the discharge of their derived hostility.

Although this was the general predisposing condition facilitating the reception of witchcraft, certain structural congruities to witchcraft must not be overlooked.[31] Without an awareness of the possibility of effecting malevolence sympathetically or contagiously, such as existed in the former belief in sorcery, witchcraft would have had greater difficulty in taking hold. Torture also had a place in the aboriginal way of life, enemy captives taken in intertribal warfare having been even more callously treated than were suspected witches. Finally the social structure of the group must be regarded as having been functionally related to the introduced attitudes by making it possible for suspicion and fear to exist between even proximate relatives and neighbors.

Kaska society has always been marked by extreme atomism with a minimum of social identification extending beyond the family. Even within the family authority was weak but deference highly emphasized. Cooperation was rare and always on an individualistic and voluntary basis. The largest and best definable unit of social structure beyond the family was the mobile band having the nuclear family as the center around which were grouped grandparents, sons-in-law and, occasionally, other relatives. Such bands were sociologically cemented by the emotional bonds of primary kinship relations. Beyond these bonds affinal kinship, personal friendship, congeniality, and common membership in an exogamous moiety[32] operated to maintain social relations, but such

[31] We here use "structural" in somewhat the same sense that Kluckhohn has spoken of "structural analysis" as "an investigation of 'functional dependencies' " or "the interrelation of parts" of a culture, but excluding those psychological factors which are commonly referred to "personality." This is functionalism in Radcliffe-Brown's rather than Malinowski's sense of the term. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 45; Radcliffe-Brown, 1946.)

[32] Dual organization did not extend to the eastern Nelson Indians and probably not to the Espato-tena.